726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Munduruku warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [209] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who [724] belonged to the Muhacha'awen, a society of older, valiant [575] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. In [574] his route, the muhacha carried a special trumpet known as the pen, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A muhacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

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even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Munduruc warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Munduruc did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the parawat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Munduruc society was an important criterion of status.

Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Machacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Munduruc lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Machacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

Intervillage cooperation enabled the Munduruc to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Machacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

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took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboili spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboili was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Daxdxi* or "mothers of the arrow." The Daxdxi was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Daxdxi. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboili and his wife resumed their normal life.[9]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native groups. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

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THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house ekxá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the ekxá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the ekxá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 34.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 38.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

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but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

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SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and cooperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

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602 628 619 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 575 619 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

121 The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.